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spiritual and intellectual, as well as political independence. The volume abounds in valuable discussions and is marked by great breadth of view. It valiantly upholds the "English" policy of expansion, which, in social progress, takes account of great ultimate results rather than inferior immediate results, although the latter may be more fully in harmony with our short-sighted sympathies.

WM. M. SLOANE.

The Provincial Governor in the English Colonies of North America. By EVARTS BOUTELLE GREENE, Professor of History in the University of Illinois. (Harvard Historical Studies. Vol. VII.) New York, London and Bombay, Longmans, Green & Co., 1898. —x, 292 pp.

The scope of this excellent monograph is somewhat narrower than its title indicates. It deals with the office of governor prior to 1763, but only in those royal and proprietary colonies which later became part of the United States. The forms of government these colonies gradually assumed, and the evolution of the executive office as such, constitute the subject-matter of the opening chapters. The precise powers attached to the office of governor and his relations with the various public bodies in the province — *viz.*, the council, the judiciary and the assembly — are then discussed at length. Special attention is given to the conflict of mutually encroaching claims on the part of the governor and the assembly. From this conflict the popular body, strong in its control of the purse, came forth triumphant. A brief reference to the legal and political accountability of the governor concludes this very suggestive guidebook to the traveller in a new region of research. In the appendices are found several representative commissions and instructions, together with a list of others that have been elsewhere printed in full, and a complete bibliography.

Considering the introductory character of the work, much less space should have been devoted to the evolution of the provincial government — a topic reasonably familiar to all students of this period of history. Unfortunately, also, the classification of the colonial governments adopted is that of Blackstone, which recent criticism has shown to be faulty and misleading, since the English provincial establishments were either corporations or provinces. The digression, furthermore, on the defects of the proprietary system is better suited to a work on the general subject of colonial government.

The earliest form of the provincial executive was the collegiate. The form ultimately adopted was that of a single appointed governor,

assisted by a council whose members owed their positions to his recommendation. Professor Greene's statement that the governor of Pennsylvania was not bound to obtain the consent as well as the advice of his council in legislation and other matters is, however, erroneous: the proprietary instructions regularly contained a clause commanding the governor to perform no public act without the consent of the council. Owing to the unsettled conditions existing in the colonies, the powers of the executive were at first couched in general, if not in vague, terms. For some time the provincial governor was not only a political ruler but the resident manager of a commercial enterprise or of a private estate. The confusion incident to this latter function was always characteristic of the proprietary governments. But as administration became more regular, the position and powers of the chief executive were more accurately defined. Still, the provincial governor "never became a purely executive officer," since he continued to discharge judicial and legislative duties of great importance. His tenure of office, depending in part on the vicissitudes of English politics, the author regards as unstable. But the shortness of term does not necessarily prove that the position was insecure. Aside from the fact, frankly admitted, that fairly long tenures obtained in at least three of the provinces, it can be shown that the vast majority of governors were not summarily removed from office. Many were simply transferred from one colony to another, and many more died in harness.

The key to a correct understanding of the governor's powers is found in the vice-regal nature of the office. Subject to the limitations inherently attached to his subordinate station, the governor exercised the prerogatives of the crown. His specific authority was based upon the commission and instructions issued by the crown or the proprietor. In this connection the differences in the character of the royal as compared with the proprietary orders, and in their effects upon the position of the governor within the respective provinces, might have been profitably discussed. Beside these instruments, local usages and the laws enacted by the colonial legislature, as well as the control developed by Parliament, alike imposed duties and conferred or withheld powers. The vice-regal character of the office of provincial governor, further, required not only the grant of certain powers but the imposition of certain restraints. Such of these restraints as were imposed by the home government Professor Greene calls "legal and administrative"; while those laid upon the

governor by the colonists he calls "practical and political" — a distinction, however, not very sharply drawn. Unfortunately this interesting topic of the governor's accountability is abruptly dismissed in barely seven pages. Its treatment would have been less fragmentary if the author had adopted his own tacit suggestion (p. 204). He might have arranged his material at this point so as to combine with it what is given in an earlier chapter concerning the governor as the agent of the home government.

The appendix of commissions and instructions would have been more representative had a set of proprietary instructions been included. The list of authorities shows almost complete dependence upon printed sources readily accessible; and, with one exception, no use has been made of recent monographs.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

The Rise and Growth of American Politics. A Sketch of Constitutional Development. By HENRY JONES FORD. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1898. — viii, 409 pp.

Mr. Ford is the first of the students of American politics to perceive and to state clearly the position which the American political party occupies in American political life. In the book before us he starts out with the proposition that American political conditions can be understood only in the light of English political conditions in the eighteenth century, of which American political conditions are the natural outgrowth. He points out that the Whig theory of government, which had been evolved in the constitutional struggles of the seventeenth century, and in accordance with which English political life was conducted in the eighteenth century, was based on a system of checks and balances. By this system the crown was set off against the people represented in Parliament. This Whig theory of government was made the basis of the American governmental system established at the end of the eighteenth century. It developed at once the same results in the United States as in England. But whereas in England the changes necessary to produce harmony between the executive and the legislature could be worked out gradually and almost imperceptibly, because the governmental theory was not incorporated in a written constitution not susceptible of easy amendment, in the United States, because of the existence of just such a written constitution, these changes had to be effected outside of the formal frame of government, and in a way which was contrary to the spirit, if not to the letter of that constitution.